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PREFACE

THIS book is the fruits of field work from September 1946 to September 1947, and from September 1948 to June 1949, as a Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, among the Yao of Southern Nyasaland. Between June and September 1949 I was employed by the Nyasaland Government on a survey of the Domasi District where a Development Scheme was to be inaugurated. The detailed results of the Domasi survey have already been published separately,[1] and the general results have been incorporated here by permission of the Nyasaland Government.

By the very nature of his work a sociologist must depend heavily on others for help. As with all sociologists my greatest indebtedness is to the people amongst whom I worked. Here I must mention in particular Chiefs Kawinga and Chiwalo, and Village Headmen Cigwaja and Kapaloma, whose hospitality in one way and another helped me appreciably. I also thank Rajabu Kumpulula, who was my clerk and main informant during the second field trip.

I am grateful to the Nyasaland Government for assistance in many ways, and to several officers of the Administration for their kindness and hospitality to me. In particular, Mr. E. C. Barnes, then Provincial Commissioner in Blantyre, encouraged me by his interest in my research. Mr. Martin Lewis and Mr. R. P. Errington, successive District Commissioners at Zomba, by their sympathetic understanding of the rôle of an anthropologist, and their hospitality in Zomba and Blantyre, did much to make field work less of a burden than it might have been. The hospitality of Mr. Richard Leach and Mr. H. Gardner, then of the Agricultural Department, and of Mr. E. Hemmings of the Native Tobacco Board, also eased the discomforts of field life.

To my teachers and colleagues I owe a special word of thanks. I would like to acknowledge here my debt to two of my teachers at the Natal University College who, during my undergraduate

[1] 'An Outline of the Social Structure of Malemia Area', *The Nyasaland Journal*, iv, 2 (July 1951), 15-42.

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men into a public meeting and each answered the questions personally. Where the information was not known, I made special enquiries to obtain it. Later I transferred this information on to small cards which I subsequently used in the statistical analysis. During my survey of Malemia chiefdom I was able to employ six African clerks whom I trained to record genealogies. They surveyed a 20 per cent random sample of villages in the chiefdom. The material from these genealogies has been transferred to Hollerith cards for statistical analysis at some future date. During this period, Mr. Carrall Wilcocks, who was then Agricultural Instructor at the Jeanes' School, and I were able to make a map with chain and compass of every garden cultivated by members of a large village. While the general results of this study have been included here, a detailed analysis is still to be made.

The material used in the chapters which deal with the pre-White times has been derived mainly from the published works quoted in the Bibliography. I was also able to consult records in the Central African Archives. By permission of the Nyasaland Government I was allowed to read through the District Books at Fort Johnston and Zomba, and through some of the files which contained information collected by early District Officers. I was also able to consult the detailed returns of the 1945 Census at the District Commissioner's office in Zomba. The Agricultural Officer at Fort Johnston, under whose jurisdiction the area where I was working fell, was kind enough to let me read some reports and to give me statistics of sales of tobacco and other agricultural produce at the Government-controlled markets, as well as details of rainfall and temperature.

The ideas in this book have been developed in a number of Rhodes-Livingstone Institute staff conferences and at seminars at Oxford. During a preliminary period of writing at Oxford between September 1947 and August 1948 I prepared the manuscript of what was later to become my contribution to the symposium *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*. I cannot overemphasize the importance of this essay in setting the problems examined in this book and in clarifying my approach to them. It brought home to me more than anything else the truth in the aphorism: the hardest part of field work is writing it up.

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THE WAYAO OF NYASALAND

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In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1910,[1] there appeared under the title of 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' observations made by me on natives around the southern end of Lake Nyasa. These notes referred largely to the Anyanja people. Since then I have been stationed for several years at Zomba in the Shiré highlands of Nyasaland (late British Central Africa) and the present paper relates to the native peoples living in that vicinity, Machinga Yao. Many analogies in the customs of these two tribes will become obvious on comparing the present paper with that referring to the Anyanja. It seems probable that most of these customs have a common origin and have evolved along similar lines, though in some instances, there is evidence that one tribe has adopted a custom from the other. The problem in many cases is very difficult to solve but where any evidence of value on such points is forthcoming, it is mentioned.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for help in the preparation of this article to Dr. Meridith G. Sanderson for his assistance in etymology and for the rendering of many Chiyao words, to Mr. E. F. Colvile for aid in making corrections, and to Thomas Chenga, a native hospital assistant, for invaluable help in getting to the bottom of many customs. The very beautiful photograph of the *Ching'* 'umpeng' 'ampe dancer (Pl. I) was taken by Dr. J. B. Davey of the East African Medical Service and is with his kind permission here reproduced.

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Introduction. Concerning the ethnology of the peoples of Nyasaland, little has been written. Officials have, for the most part, been uncommunicative, and the large body of missionaries has taken slight advantage of the unique opportunities for study which early occupation of the country and close connection with its people offered them. In the case of the Yao, however, there are two brilliant exceptions, the Reverend Duff Macdonald [2] whose *Africana* remains an authoritative exposition of the customs of the Yao around Blantyre, and the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick,[3] author of the standard work on Yao linguistics.[4] Apart from these, some information can be gleaned from Livingstone's [5] account of his travels, from the writings of Sir H. H. Johnston,[6] and the Hon. H. L. Duff,[7,8] and from Miss Werner's [9] popular book written after a short stay in the Protectorate. Other references to the Wayao are too scanty to be of value.

For information concerning the Wayao of German East Africa, the reader is referred to Dr. Fülleborn,[10] and to the published results of an ethnological research expedition to the

[1] H. S. Stannus, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' (Journ. Anth. Inst., vol. 40, 1910, p. 285–336).

[2] Duff Macdonald, Africana or the heart of heathen Africa, London, 1882.

[3] Alexander Hetherwick, A handbook of the Yao language, London, 1902.

[4] Since these notes were made in 1912–1913, Dr. M. G. Sanderson has published a Yao grammar and intends shortly to follow it with a Chiyao dictionary.

[5] David Livingstone, Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries and of the discoveries of the lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858–1864, London, 1865.

[6] H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, London, 1897.

[7] H. L. Duff, Nyasaland under the foreign office, London, 1903.

[8] Now Sir Hector Duff, K. B. E., C. M. G.

[9] A. Werner, The natives of British Central Africa, London, 1906.

[10] F. Fülleborn, Das deutsche Nyasa-und-Rovuma-Gebiet, Land und Leute, nebst Bemerkungen über die Schistosoma, Berlin, 1906.

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114 southern part of that territory by Dr. Karl Weule. I have not had access to Weule's official reports but judging from Miss Werner's translation of his popular edition,[1] the book shows a good deal of evidence of inaccurate information, or perhaps it would be better to say, evidence of want of extensive observation, and all the strictures which his translator passes upon the book[2] are well deserved. I am inclined to think that much of what Weule describes in connection with various tribes including the Wayao bears witness to considerable modification by intermixture, and it may be interesting to compare his account of Yao customs with my own.

Duff Macdonald,[3] then, remains the one author whose writings are of value to the student of the Wayao of Nyasaland, and one cannot help feeling that the ethnological character of his book suffers from the attitude which he, in common with most missionaries, takes in regard to many native customs. I believe that if missionaries, instead of turning away their faces in horror, had regarded these practices with an open mind, they would have found that their veiled statements were exaggerations of the truth, and that the old social code of the Yao native would compare favorably with the order of things in most civilised countries.

Morals are after all only the laws that regulate the social welfare of a community and there can be no theoretically perfect code of morals which does not take into consideration the living conditions of the community to which it is applied. Before the ties of custom which bound their social system were cut by European government and missionary influence, I think the natives of Nyasaland sinned against their code of morals comparatively seldom. The present time is one of transition. Freed from old customs and beliefs, and with nothing of equal strength to take their place, the younger generation of natives has suffered and only time with just rule and efficient education can raise them to the higher moral standard which European influence strives to impose upon them.

The old order is passing rapidly and I therefore make no apologies for recording my observations, since the time will soon come when the things I speak of will be entirely forgotten. I find I have gone over much of the ground covered by Macdonald, but in most cases, I believe that I can add many details which may be of value to ethnologists.

101 **Divisions and History of the Wayao.** In regard to the question of tribal names, I think it is perhaps better to reserve the word *Wayao* to denote the whole Yao family and give to each section of the tribe the designation by which it is known to all its members. Thus the name Amangoche should be applied to the Yao people settled around Blantyre, while the Yao about whom I shall speak belong to that branch of the tribe known as Amachinga, now living near Zomba under their chief, Malemya. These two sections, together with a third, to the north, the Amasininga, contain all the Yao of Nyasaland. (Pl. IX)

[1] Karl Weule, *Native Life in East Africa*, tr. by Alice Werner, London, 1908.
[2] Ibid., p. xiii–xiv.
[3] Op. cit.

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That these several sections of the Wayao differ in many respects may be seen by comparing the Amangoche of *Africana*[1] with the Amachinga of this article. I am not sufficiently conversant with the Amangoche to make a definite statement on this point but I am inclined to believe that after longer residence and wider knowledge, Macdonald would have found that some of his statements needed revision. Those whom he considered the "Yao proper" but whom I prefer to speak of as the Amangoche seem to have a considerable mixture of Anyanja, since their language contains many Chinyanja words and many of their customs are practically those of the Anyanja. I am of the opinion that the Amachinga may be regarded as more typical of the Wayao, and except when ambiguity might arise, I shall speak of them as the Yao.

The original home of this Bantu speaking people is uncertain; in historic times all the sections of the Wayao were originally grouped in that part of Portuguese East Africa around the hill called Chao, whence they probably derived their name, *Wa Chao* or *Wa Yao*. About the middle of the nineteenth century, as the result of inroads by neighboring tribes of Alolo from the southeast, and raids by the Makwangala, a branch of the Angoni of Zulu origin, from the northwest, disruption of the Yao people occurred, and the divisions mentioned above, moved toward Nyasaland. The Masaninga branch settled for the most part along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa but a sub-section known as Tambala Yao reached the west side of the lake. The Machinga made a settlement near Lake Chiuta under a number of old chiefs, including Malemya (Nalutumbo), Kawinga, Chenkula, Kalimbuka, and Maole.

The descents of the Makwangwala again caused the Wayao to move on from Chiuta to Naminga on the Mikoko stream. Here Malemya suffered another defeat at the hands of the Angoni; many of his people were driven off and taken to the neighboring Anguru country where they were held in captivity for some time. Finally they were restored by the enterprise of one of Malemya's old men, Kulungala, who went alone to the Angoni, saying that he wished to live with them and with his own brethren. One day, he asked the Angoni if they would like to see their captives dance, and when they assented, he called the Yao together, and clapping his hands to keep time, he began to sing one of their dance songs. Gradually he gathered all the Yao into the village open space, dancing and singing; then, keeping to the same air, he told them why he had come, using their own language which the Angoni did not understand. "Malemya, our chief, remains at the Mikoko stream. It is not far off. We must all join him again. Now dance for joy. If anyone does not return there, it is his own fault." Then, a few at a time, the dancers left the crowd and stole away into the bush and, as night came on, they all made off and reached Malemya's camp in safety.

Malemya's people were again attacked by the Angoni, and on this occasion they defeated their enemies. The Angoni retreated and skirting Zomba mountain, reached the Shiré

[1] Macdonald, *op. cit.*

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or a girl who has just returned from *Chipoto* must not touch the child, as it is said, "Her body is hot and would give fever to the child." To guard against such a happening, some "*alesa*" woman, after handing some beads to the mother, will ask to be allowed to take the infant. This indicates that should it sicken, the beads will pay the medicine-woman who comes to cure it. The mother and baby are simply washed in water and are not treated with medicine, unless meconium has been voided before the child was delivered.[1] If the infant dies before it is presented to the outside world, it is disposed of in the same way as a stillborn child, i.e. buried in the ash-heap. About the tenth day, the baby is adorned with a girdle of beads and two little pieces of stick obtained from a medicine-woman to make the infant grow fat.

The length of time during which the father and mother refrain from cohabitation after the birth of a baby varies greatly according to circumstance. Four months is probably a minimum, while two years, during which the woman suckles the child, is the common interval. After the first coitus, the man and woman wash themselves and the baby is bathed in the same water to prevent any ill coming to it.

Suckling often continues much longer than two years. If the mother dies, the child may be suckled by the grandmother, an aunt, or some other woman, but the breasts must first be treated with medicine or the child would die

A child born breech first is called *salanga*, a word which is also used to denote a variety of domestic fowl which always has the appearance of having its feathers ruffled. A child who dies before the father and mother have resumed sexual relations is buried in a grave-yard apart from that of adults. The grave, dug with sticks, not hoes, is very shallow, and when it is filled in, a heap of stones is made above it. Only women attend the burial. A deep grave would cause the mother to go on losing children at an early age. The body of such a child is called *litawa*, "hyaena."

A woman dying undelivered is placed in the grave in the usual way and then, before filling in the earth, one of the grave-diggers descends into the pit, cuts through the enveloping shroud, and incises the abdomen. One end of a long bamboo stick or reed is inserted in the incision and the other end is brought out to the surface of the grave. If this were not done, "many would die in childbirth."

Twins are not killed by the Yao but are well treated and always cared for equally. They are given similar clothing and food.[2] There is a story that the mother of Nkwamba,

[1] *Chinguru*, vide infra, p. 286.

[2] "(T. A. Werner, 'Among the Congo Cannibals, by John H. Weeks, London, 1913, a review,' (Man, vol. 14, no. 18, 1914, p. 18).

I take this opportunity of referring to Miss Werner's review in which, speaking of twins, she says, "They are always among the Anyanja given the names *Mapali* and *Nyasa*." *Mapali* in Chinyanja refers to a kind of musical instrument and the Chipeta meaning is "movement palm." *Nyasa* is a Chipeta word which certainly means "the back." It is sometimes used of the second born twin but does not occur in Chinyanja. I have never heard of twins either among the Wayao or the Anyanja spoken of by these names. A mother carries the first born on the right arm and the second born on the left, but, so far as I know, she does not give a duplicate greeting nor make a habit of eating equally with both hands.

765 to fire off his gun as long as his powder lasted. During the period of mourning, drumming
[534] went on continuously, *chindimba* being played on the three small drums called *tchewa*.

With the exception of the flexed attitude of the body, the foregoing description is a correct account of what happens today. The body is now fully extended.

767 The *asvile* are two or four in number, although other friends may assist in all their ser-
764 vices. On about the third day, the *asvile* sew up the body in bark cloth, completely envelop-
ing it; a bamboo needle is used and left sticking in the cloth at the last stitch. The body is then enclosed in a mat slung on a pole, and carried from the hut to the grave. First, the procession makes a round of the village, passing by all the houses which the dead man used to visit, and over all the paths he used to cross. His children and those of his relatives under seven or eight years old gather in the village, and throw pieces of charcoal toward the body as it passes, "so that they shall forget the dead man," or run after the corpse, while some one sprinkles medicine over them.

764 As the procession leaves the village, it is headed by the drums playing *chindimba*, but
[534] after a few hundred yards, only the *ching'anga* drum, now called *chitanda*, beats time for a short distance; the procession then goes on quietly. Following the drums, walks the mother or another relative carrying flour with which the grave will be marked out. Behind this mourner, the body is borne by the *asvile*. The *asvile* are always the first to carry the body, but are later relieved by other friends of the deceased; no one would ever ask to be relieved.

● [114] After the chief mourner, follow the other relatives and friends, the men first, the women behind. Boys just back from their *unyago* attend to learn the customs. All the relatives of the deceased go to the burial, contrary to Macdonald's account.[1]

In this order, the procession reaches some tree thirty or forty yards from the place of burial where the corpse is put down in the shade, *situla*, "resting place", and while the women and part of the men watch beside it, the *asvile* proceed to the burial place. They cut branches from a sacred tree, and strew them on the path. On approaching the appointed spot, they clap their hands in salutation, asking that the burial ground be opened to them.

The head *mbilo* chooses the site where the grave shall be dug, after which the mourner marks out the limits with the flour she has brought. In the days when the body was buried in contracted posture, a circular grave was dug just big enough to allow two men to work in it. Eight feet was the usual depth but this was decided by the deceased's *nyasve*, if he were living, otherwise, by his near relatives. In the east side of this circular well, a cave was excavated, just large enough to admit the contracted corpse. When all was prepared, the body accompanied by all the mourners, was brought from *situla* to the graveside. The chief *mbilo* with a friend of the man's family and one of his wife's, standing in the grave received the body and placed it in the cave, resting on a mat and covered with bark cloth. The body lay on its side with its back toward the well, and its face looking

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 105.

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toward the east. After adjusting the body in its place, the *mbilo* would tear open the shroud over the ear, and pour on to the plana some powdered beads to be used by the dead man as money in the hereafter. Except in the case of chiefs, no objects were buried with the dead, contrary to Macdonald's description [1] of the Amangoche. The pole on which the body had been carried to the grave was broken into bits and together with any stick that had been used to measure the body for the cave, was placed in the grave. The opening into the chamber was then closed by a mat fastened over it by pegs and supported by pieces of wood. The *awilo* clambering out of the well, pushed the first earth backward into the grave with their elbows, after which the rest of the earth was shovelled in quickly, and a heap made at the surface. The ground about this mound was swept clean with a bunch of leaves by some one walking backward so that no footprints were left; the bunch of leaves was thrown on top of the mound. No medicine was put in the grave, nor were the household utensils placed on the mound, as Macdonald states concerning the Amangoche.[2]

For some years past, the type of grave made among the Yao has resembled that of the Anyanja,[3] a long pit with a chamber scooped out along the whole length of one side. In this, the corpse is placed in a fully extended position so that it lies on its back with the feet toward the east. With this exception, the account given above holds good for the present day. The method of suspending the corpse in a mat slung on forked sticks within the grave, mentioned in *Africana*,[4] is not found among the Amachinga Yao.

On the way back to the village, two *awilo* lead, followed by the men, the women, and lastly, by the other *awilo*. First, all wash, the men upstream, the women downstream; no one may wash another's back. The hoes used in digging the grave are also washed; hoes are never washed on any other occasion.

During the funeral, some responsible old man is left in charge of the village with several younger men to assist him. Just before the return of the funeral party is expected, the old man sends one of the younger men to set medicine at the side of the path along which the mourners will pass. This medicine is made from the bark of the *mpingo* tree and is used for purification; it is placed in a sherd. Each person as he arrives at the spot squats down, dips the little finger of each hand into the medicine, and passes the fingers between the little toe and the third toe of the corresponding foot. The last comer throws any remaining medicine into the bush. As they near the village, a gun is fired and wailing is resumed for a few minutes, after which it ceases altogether. The old man who has been left in charge of the village always inquires whether all has gone well at the interment.

That evening, the time is passed in singing *chindimba*.[5] All those who attended the burial, sleep in the village, and if the deceased's relatives can afford to provide the necessary food, all remain in the village for a number of days equal to the period which elapsed between death and burial. Sometimes, when burial was long delayed, the mourning party

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 107.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Stannus, 'Notes on natives of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 313.
[4] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 108.
[5] Vide infra, p. 367, 370.

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generous and popular, the donations may mount up to a useful sum. Dancing goes on late into the afternoon when all return to the village. 843

The man may not speak to his guardian again until after the birth of the child. The two women guardians, the *mbamusi* and the *nabanga*, as a rule cease sexual intercourse with their husbands during the same period or, at all events, during the last month before the birth of the child.

The child born of a woman who has not gone through *Litiso* is buried alive. [847]

Chieftainship. The Yao when they migrated to their present country were headed by a number of their chiefs. These eventually settled in different areas adjacent to one another, each ruling over a considerable tract of country. The chief was supported by a number of headmen, each of whom looked after a village; the chiefs and headmen in turn being assisted by the village elders. 622 643

Often among a chief's counselors one found a number of his relatives, and sons and brothers were often made headmen. A man assuming chieftainship often had to dispose of a brother of whom he was afraid. 643

Chieftainship is hereditary, the chief's name being passed on to each successor. Succession is to eldest son of the eldest sister or a son of some other sister. Failing these, it passes to a grand-nephew. If there is no acceptable adult nephew, a full brother may succeed.

Macdonald's account of the Malemya's succession[1] is, I believe, incorrect. The old Malemya (Nalutumbo) was succeeded according to custom by his nephew, Kasabola who, as Malemya, was called Ndalama. Kumtaja was not a younger brother of Nalutumbo or Kasabola, but a cousin of the latter. Ndalama was succeeded by a nephew, not the eldest but the second son of a sister, the eldest having already succeeded to the chieftainship of Kumtaja was therefore ineligible. The present Malemya will be succeeded by a grand-nephew, the son of a daughter of his eldest sister, his sister having no sons. [114]

A successor inherited all the wives and slaves of the deceased chief and all his goods and chattels, guns, ivory and gardens. Any small possessions might be divided among the deceased's children and in the case of guns, those who had always used them often laid claims not to be separated from their weapons; these claims were often allowed by the new chief. 643 428

In the same way, any ordinary man's successor is his nephew, the son of a sister, who inherits all goods and chattels and slave wives, but not free-born wives, nor gardens, which go to the free wives. Stock is generally divided among the children.

Before 1891, when a British Protectorate was formally declared over Nyasaland, each chief ruled supreme. He was consulted as to the dates for *Unyago*; he directed the harvesting, etc.; he proclaimed war and generally was paramount among his people. It will be seen, therefore, that he was a busy man, but he received no direct remuneration. His wealth consisted of slaves and ivory. Slaves he obtained in warfare and as blood money, 643 [554]

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 189.

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speaks is invariably nasal in character and Chinyanja is the language always used. It is doubtless a case of what we should call ventriloquism. The custom is evidently of Mang'anja origin but in great favor with the Yao.

Divination also plays an important part in tracing thieves or stolen property or in picking out from a number of people anyone guilty of some crime. Several modes of procedure may be adopted. The *chisango* called *ndumba* may be used as the *chisango cha chipeta* (*chipeta*, a kind of basket). Medicine in the form of certain roots is placed on the ground and covered by the inverted basket on which is placed the *ndumba*. Each person in turn is requested to lift the basket and the guilty one is at once revealed by his inability to budge the basket off the ground. This method may even be used to reveal a man guilty of *usuwi*.

Other methods of divination include a kind of trial by ordeal somewhat similar to a boiling water ordeal. *Kaundula* (from *ku-undula*, to tramp round, referring to the peregrinations made in search of what is lost, or *namlonda*, the Chinyanja word from *ku-londa*, to follow on the footsteps of) is the name of the witch-doctor who searches for stolen property or traces the thief. The same man may be called *mabwumbula* in Chinyanja (from *ku-wumbula*, to reveal) when he uses his instrument to detect in a crowd the person guilty of some crime. The *kaundula* uses the horn of a kudu stuffed with appropriate medicine, the actual *mise en scène* and methods adopted varying somewhat with different practitioners. The practice I believe to be a Mang'anja one and I think most of the operators were Anyanja men and not Yao, though the Yao, as with other customs, adopted the system fully. In my district, the *kaundula* was usually armed with a rattle; when the horn indicated the guilty individual, he intimated the fact to the assembled crowd by throwing flour over him.

When a search is to be made for stolen property, the horn is put into the hands of four men, alternate men pressing down and pulling up on the long horn, while the medicine man stands by, operating his rattle and exhorting the horn to do its work of revelation. I know a man who has on several occasions assisted in holding the horn; he said it simply seemed to drag him on in a series of jerky movements, sometimes going very fast, at other times moving slowly, dragging the holders "along the footsteps of the thief with the stolen goods" in and out of the house, through the bush, and across streams, until suddenly the horn dropped from their hands to the ground, where on digging, the stolen goods were found buried. (Cf. table turning, planchette, etc.)

A good description of *kaundula* under the headings *mabwumbula* and *namlondola* is given by Garbutt,[1] who describes the Mang'anja operators. In this same article, he makes the mistake of describing as *mabichila*, the *juasketela*. As I have stated above, the *juasketela* is an order of medicine men who trap the man who is an *usuwi* while in the *usuwi* state, but the *mbichila* points him out while he appears as an ordinary man of the village.

[1] H. W. Garbutt, 'Native customs in Nyasa,' (*Man*, London, 1912, vol. 12, p. 33-40).

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never leave any food outside at night, not even the chaff from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

Chitewe is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the *itewe* are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and cause rot among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the *itewe* and prevent them coming into the gardens. As far as I am aware, the *itewe* have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with *Mbanga*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.[1] The *chitewe* is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*Mumbonele kumpi?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hullo, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are iron workers. They are called the *Mumbonele kumpi*.

There is no relation as far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently reiterated by Hastings Guilford in his Hunterian Lecture (1914) that folk-lore fables of bobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

The Anyanja have the same legend about these "little people," the *mwandi mwakuti* ("where-did-you-see-me"); it is indeed not only wide-spread throughout this country, (the Ahenga and Ankonde in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwandiwamuku* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the Akikuyu in British East Africa.[2]

The *chitewe* is doubtless the *chiwewi* of the Anyanja, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,[3] as Miss Werner[4] has supposed, for one finds that among the Anyanja at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chitewe* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chiwewi* who has one half of his body made of wax.

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 71. [2] M. W. H. Beech, 'Pre-Bantu occupants of East Africa,' (Man, London, 1914, p. 40-41).
[3] Op. cit., p. 97. [4] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 98.

3:Stanaus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

539 dogs to attack the Duinwe and the dog rushed in at him but fell dead, killed by the wind passed from the bowel of the Duinwe. The same fate fell to two more dogs. Then Kalikalanje called his dog, *Mawalanyanje* flew at the Duinwe, making wind at the same time as his enemy, and was unhurt. He bit and bit at the Duinwe till he killed him. Then Kalikalanje came down from the tree and got medicine and his three dead dogs were brought to life again, and he was not molested further.

[114] Note. This story is only an incomplete form is given by Hind in his *First Yao Reader* and I have therefore thought it worth while reporting it in extenso. Miss Werner[1] has referred to Duinwe but seems very doubtful of the meaning of the word. It occurs only in the story given above, common to both Wayao and Anyanja, and simply refers to a fabulous personality, one of whose attributes was the ability to change into various forms. Scott in his dictionary,[2] mentions a Chinyanja word, *Dzimwe*, an elephant, so called because of its large belly filled with masses of unchewed food.

Nalumbalapa, the Night-jar

One day when the night-jar was strolling along, he met some guinea-fowls and approaching their leader, he said, "I envy you when I see you going along accompanied by many of your people. I should be very glad if you would help me by giving me medicine to make me also a chief among others." So the guinea-fowl said, "That is all right, but you must come at the proper time when I am at home." In the evening, the night-jar went to the guinea-fowl and the guinea-fowl gave him some medicine and told him, "Take this medicine. You must then get some animals' dung and mix the medicine with a basketful of it. Choose a nice site and sprinkle it all over with this. Then build your own hut there. The rules about this medicine are as follows: If any people come to stay with you and do any damage to your crops, don't abuse them; speak gently." "All right," said the night-jar, and went away to follow out the instructions. When this was all done, one evening some one came and clapping hands at the door, called to the owner. The night-jar went outside and found a man with his wife and children. They had come to settle down with him. (He was going to be a chief among men!) So he told them to come in. After a few minutes, others came, and then all night others arrived until the house was full and others camped outside. Within two days, there was a big village. Then the night-jar went back and reported to the guinea-fowl. The guinea-fowl again bade him keep to the rules. Then the people made a big garden for the night-jar and planted cassava and many other things and they were all quite happy. One day, all the people came together and said they were going to make a bigger garden for their chief, the night-jar. The children went too, and played in one of the cassava gardens. One of them dug up some roots and showed them and the night-jar passing and noticing this, was very cross and began abusing the children and their

[1] British Central Africa, p. 223. [2] Op. cit., p. 138.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

302 Shaving is a rite practised in mourning.[1] Some old men and women, especially medicine men, make a practice of never cutting the hair and never washing it (Pl. VII, fig. 8). One occasionally sees lunatics with very long hair in the villages.

The Yao do not follow the Angoni practice of tying up into tufts the hair which has been allowed to grow long with palm leaf string, but they sometimes tie up a single wisp and make it up with medicine; this is called *kutumbi* or *ujumbi* (plur.).

The scalp may be shaved in various fashions. Among men, it is quite common to trim the hair on the forehead, *ku-ejilila*; they must not, however, trim the hair behind (Pl. XVIII, fig. 2). Women, on the contrary, trim both in front and back; a man doing so would be laughed at. A woman for the ceremony of *Litiwo* shaves the front hair a little higher still, but she must be careful not to do so at other times, otherwise she would make herself a laughing stock (Pl. XVIII, fig. 10). The hair is sometimes shaved on either side of the middline in front, in imitation of temporal baldness; both baldness and this method of shaving are called *wamwaw* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 4). Or again, among old Yao men the crown is shaved; this and natural baldness are called *lukusi* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 5). It is a fashion much affected by old men and great annoyance is caused them by any young upstart who does the same. Other methods include for men *upile*, "a rat's path," an antero-posterior median line shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 9); *tapelepandaja*, two shaved lines made from back to front on either side of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 3); for men and women, *lipandelitola*, "the garden is (dead) overgrown", one lateral half of the head shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 7); for men, *nabacha* a crest of hair left along the mid-line, both sides of the head being shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 8); *mwezi* (*chilemba cha mwezi*), "the moon," a crescent shaped area shaved on one or both sides of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 6).

The eyebrows and eyelashes are always left to grow normally among the Yao.

The Yao man used to take great pride in his beard; it was the object of a good deal of washing and combing. It grew to considerable length and was not cut or trimmed, but the hair growing down low over the throat was shaved, as was also the hair immediately below the mouth on the under lip and the moustache, as it was thought to get in the way when drinking. The whiskers were allowed to grow like the beard.

832 935 Hair on the chin or upper lip of a woman is rarely seen and on account of its rarity is much prized. Such hairs have a monetary value for making medicines, a single hair being sold for eight yards of calico or two shillings. Body hair is considered to be a sign of strength; on the chest, it is known as *chimpalowa* (*ku-chimpalowa*, to be strong). Body hair including hair on the back is by no means so rare as has been supposed. Sir H. H. Johnston says that he has never seen it,[2] a statement which shows lack of observation. The hair on the forearms and thighs is called *chenje* or *chenkenda*; Hetherwick translates this word,[3] I think wrongly, as hair on the body. Body hair is never removed in any way. A man named Katumbisi ("the little vulture") of Ulumba had a very large amount of body hair; he was likened to a baboon and was a source of much interest to the children who saw him.

[1] Vide supra, p. 201. [2] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 205. [3] Op. cit., p. 111.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

121 Often there is some cultural obstruction to the giving of information of certain [551] types. The Yao, for example, will not readily mention the names of deceased persons. Often young children or people who themselves had no children are completely forgotten. Many polygynous men cannot remember the number of children that they have fathered.

● 114 121 Nevertheless, in spite of these and other similar difficulties, some investigators have been able to publish a certain amount of material bearing on the problem of the rate of increase of non-literate populations in Africa. All of them have been based on samples, though none of these could be considered statistically representative. Such studies in recent years include one in Southern Nigeria,[1] one from Tanganyika[2] based on a substantial sample of women, while M. Fortes has published some material on the Tallensi of the Gold Coast.[3] Schapera, incidentally to a larger study, has published some material on the Tswana of Bechuanaland Protectorate.[4]

The analysis of the Yakö by Enid Charles and C. Daryll Forde was mainly concerned with the calculation of the male net reproduction-rate, while the Culwicks and Schapera calculated female net reproduction-rates. Fortes considered both the male and female net reproduction-rates. The Culwicks have so far presented the most complete analysis of this type of material but were not able to classify their material into five- or ten-year age-groups, though they did use a wider age classification. The Culwicks, Fortes, and Schapera have all used the number of girls born to women now past child-bearing as an estimate of the female gross reproduction-rate. There are objections to this procedure which are outlined below. ✓

121 In this paper an attempt is made to present in more detail some demographic material on an African non-literate people. The main object of the paper is to estimate the probable gross and net reproduction-rates prevailing at the moment 125 in the areas studied. The data on which this paper is based were collected incidentally to a study of the social organization of the Yao people living in the Liwonde District of Nyasaland in Central Africa.[5] In this study a number of typical hamlets, varying from 5 to 50 or more dwellings, were visited and genealogies of the residents recorded. In 20 of these hamlets further details were secured on points of demographic interest. Each census in a village took a day or two, and individual censuses were taken between November 1946 and March 1947. In this analysis of the material I have assumed that the survey was done at the end of 1946. The survey was conducted on a *de facto* and *de jure* basis in that the population who had slept in a hamlet the previous night was enumerated, but the mobility of the population is so high that usually it was necessary to consider a *de jure* count as constituting the true population of the village. The twenty hamlets studied were grouped in three areas, two in the area under N. A. Kawinga and one in N. A. Nyambi's area.

[1] Enid Charles and C. Daryll Forde, 'Notes on Some Population Data from a Southern Nigerian Village', *The Sociological Review*, vol. xxx, no. 1 (April 1938).

[2] A. T. and G. M. Culwick, 'A Study of Population in Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory', *The Sociological Review*, vol. xxx, no. 4 (1938), p. 345, and vol. xxxii (1939), no. 1, p. 23.

[3] M. Fortes, 'A Note on the Fertility among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast', *The Sociological Review*, vol. xxxv, nos. 3-4 (July-Oct. 1943).

[4] I. Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life*, London: Oxford University Press (1947), pp. 20 ff.

[5] This study was conducted as part of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute's comparative study of the social organization of some Central African tribes. I am grateful to the Trustees of the Institute and to the Director, Dr. E. Colson, who have given me permission to publish this material.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

Table V shows that the age-distribution for the Yao sample is very similar to certain other populations commonly held to have high birth-rates. There appears to be some correlation between the proportion of youth in a population and the gross

TABLE V. *Sundbarg's Age Divisions*

Population	Year	Youth 0-15	Middle age 15-40	Old age over 40	G.R.R.
Yao*	1946	45·3	45·6	10·9	..
Yao with discretion	1946	40·6	47·1	10·6	..
Rarotonga†	1926	40·6	47·7	8·7	..
Nicaragua	1940	40·3	47·7	9·6	..
Guatemala	1940	42·6	46·9	8·1	..
India	1931	39·3	39·4	9·7	..
Japan	1935	36·9	47·9	13·1	0·748
Bulgaria	1934	32·3	48·1	13·9	0·710
Czechoslovakia	1930	28·3	51·1	19·1	0·622
New Zealand	1936	27·1	51·7	21·2	0·584
Denmark	1940	24·0	51·1	22·0	0·528
Sweden	1940	22·4	51·9	25·6	0·489

* There were 25 in the sample whose ages were not known. These were all adults and have been included proportionately in the two adult groups.

† All data for other populations taken from *The League of Nations Statistical Yearbook 1938/39*.

‡ Interpolated between 1930 (0·755) and 1935 (0·748).

reproduction-rate. Judging from the material presented in Table V a high gross reproduction-rate may be expected among the Yao where the proportion of youth is much higher than in the case of those whose gross reproduction-rates are quoted.

(F) *The Proportion of Children under 5 to Women 15-50*

Fertility may be judged more accurately than by this trichotomy by considering the proportion of children under 5 to the total number of women between the ages of 15 to 50, i.e. the fertility ratio.[1] In the whole sample there were 147 children under 5 and 191 women between the ages of 15 to 50. This is a ratio of 766 children per 1,000 women. However, women who are going away from the area for a long time, as, for example, wives of men who are going with their husbands to some labour centre, possibly in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, usually leave their weaned children with their matrilineal relatives. This means that the ratio quoted (766 per 1,000) is, in reality, an over-estimate of the true ratio. In order to arrive at a nearer estimate of the ratio we must consider the children actually born to women in the sample. Table VI classifies all children both dead and surviving born to women between the ages 15 to 55. From this table we address that there were 191 women between the ages 15 to 50 (for whom details were available), and among them they had 141 surviving children under the age of 5. This is a fertility ratio of 738 per 1,000 women. Table VII shows the fertility ratio for 18 countries with their gross reproduction-rate for the same period as the fertility ratio.

[1] It is more usual to take the number of women between 15 and 45, though usually the age-group between 20 and 45 has been used. I have taken the age-limits 15 to 50 because of the early age of marriage, and because it appeared that the average age of cessation of child-bearing is about 50 (see Table VIII). For a discussion of the reliability of this measure of fertility where birth-registration is not practised, see T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis*, McGraw Hill Book Co., New York (1948), p. 156.

6: Mitchell E-8 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

last twenty to thirty years, and that it was then returning to normal since the number of live births in the under-30 age-groups agree in the two surveys, but the figure for the over-30 age-groups is substantially lower for the Tanganyika material than for the Yao.

The Calwicks, Fortes, and Schapera have used the number of live females born to women past child-bearing as an indication of the gross reproduction-rate. As it was not possible to record whether the women in this sample had passed the menopause or not. From Table VIII we see that there is no upward trend in live births per woman over the age of 30. We may therefore take this age as representing the age at which child-bearing ceased. There were 43 women over the age of 30 and they had between them borne 133 live females. This is an average of 3·13 per female. This differs substantially from the figure that the Calwicks arrive at in their study, viz. 1·56.[1] It agrees, however, with the estimates made for the Tallensi (3·1)[2] and for the Tswana (2·34).[3]

There are, however, some serious objections to the use of this figure as a measure of the prevailing gross reproduction-rate. First, it does not take into account those mothers who did not survive the child-bearing period. If it is only the most fecund who die before menopause, we are, in fact, dealing with a sample which is unrepresentative, in that the least fecund are automatically selected. The opposite may also be true, of course, but the fact remains that such an estimate is based on an unrepresentative sample of mothers. Second, it represents the average fertility prevailing over the last fifty or sixty years. If there has been a large change in the fertility at some time during this period, this is included in the average and obscures the rate which prevails now. For example, the material presented by the Calwicks shows that the gross reproduction-rate must be higher than 1·56. The low figure in this case, they suggest, is caused by the famine which followed a rebellion in 1906.

(f) A More Direct Estimate of Fertility

In order to arrive at a figure which would reflect conditions prevailing more recently, a series of tables was constructed, which showed (according to my census sheets) the number of children born in each year between 1917 and 1946, and the number of women in the different five-year age-groups for each of those years. Hence each woman who appeared in the first year (1917) was also counted in 1918. As each new year was considered some had turned 50 and were excluded, and others had turned 15 and were included. Therefore a gross reproduction-rate was calculated for each year from 1917 to 1946. These rates were averaged by adding together the number of women shown in each five-year age-group for five years and adding the number of children born during those five years, and by dividing to arrive at average specific fertility rates. The five-year averages were as follows:

1917-21	4·18	1932-6	2·23
1922-6	3·33	1937-41	3·22
1927-31	3·12	1942-6	2·83

There appears to have been a definite trend in this series, falling from the end of the

[1] The total of 3·13 children per woman was divided by 2 in order to arrive at the number of females per woman.

[2] M. Fortes, op. cit., p. 108.

[3] I. Schapera, op. cit., p. 13.

last war to a trough in 1932–6 and then beginning to rise again. However, with a sample as small as this one, and since we are relying on memory for most of this information, it would be unwise to accept this as significant. These tables have in turn been combined into three tables each covering one ten-year period from 1917 to 1946. These are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX. *Average Gross Reproduction-rates in Ten-year Periods since 1917 to 1946*

Age of women	1917–26			1927–36			1937–46		
	No. of women*	No. of live-born females	Annual average specific fertility rate	No. of women	No. of live-born females	Annual average specific fertility rate	No. of women	No. of live-born females	Annual average specific fertility rate
15–19	89	3	0·036	168	6	0·036	146	1	0·014
20–24	173	15	0·074	337	28	0·083	339	21	0·062
25–29	139	11	0·083	225	18	0·080	287	19	0·066
30–34	79	10	0·127	173	13	0·074	337	39	0·116
35–39	71	11	0·155	139	10	0·072	225	24	0·107
40–44	54	13	0·138	79	6	0·076	173	10	0·057
45–49	51	10	0·210	71	3	0·042	139	3	0·022
50–54†	33	3	0·077	54	3	0·053	79	6	0·076
Totals			0·821			0·525			0·558
G.R.R.		4·110			2·625			2·790	

* This does not mean that these totals represent the size of the sample. This is an average size and some women have been counted more than once.

† These rates are higher than might be expected. There appears to be no special reason why these rates should be so high, and the explanation probably lies in the smallness of the sample.

The obvious deficiency in this set of data is that the women who died are not included, and since many more of the 1917–21 cohort (i.e. those women who were in the child-bearing ages in that period) have died than, say, for the 1937–41 period, the rates calculated for earlier periods become more and more unreliable. There seems

TABLE X. *Average Gross Reproduction-rates over Ten-year Period 1937–46*

Age groups	1937–46			1942–6			1937–46		
	Women	Girls	Rate	Women	Girls	Rate	Women	Girls	Rate
15–19	60	..	..	68	2	0·029	128	2	0·016
20–24	1563	13	0·063	144	8	0·056	3403	21	0·062
25–29	801	14	0·070	135	25	0·148	356	33	0·093
30–34	141	18	0·127	201	21	0·104	344	39	0·114
35–39	96	11	0·115	1563	12	0·088	1503	24	0·016
40–44	51	3	0·059	94	6	0·064	189	11	0·058
45–49	43	3	0·070	86·3	3	0·035	1103	8	0·072
50–54	27	4	0·148	42	2	0·048	73	6	0·082
Totals			0·618			0·565			0·735
G.R.R.		3·090			2·825			3·675	

no way of circumventing this difficulty for the earlier periods, but some correction for this may be included in the 1937–46 rates. All those women who were in the child-bearing ages when they died between 1937 and 1946 were extracted and

6: Mitchell E-S (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

included in the material that was prepared for Table IX. In this way it was possible to construct Table X which shows as close an approximation as we can get to the gross reproduction-rate from the material on hand.

Since the exact date of death was unknown (i.e. day and month) it was assumed that at death the women were at the mid-point of the age-group. Therefore the figure 158·5 in Table X represents, for example, 157, 158 women who passed through one particular year and 1 woman who died in that year.

The revised rates for the two five-year periods 1937-41 and 1942-6 are not greatly different from those calculated without taking account of the women who died. The average gross reproduction-rate over the ten-year period 1937-46 falls within the limits of expected gross reproduction-rate as calculated from the fertility ratio (2·47 to 2·59; see p. 303), and is not widely different from the estimate derived from women who have passed child-bearing (3·15; see p. 304).

(i) General Conclusions about the Gross Reproduction-rate

In general we may observe that from the material on hand the gross reproduction-rate for this sample has always been high. This is confirmed since, first, the number of live-born females born to women over the age of 50 is high (3·15); second, the lowest rate calculated for the past is 2·23 for 1932-6, though not too much reliance should be placed on the validity of this; and third, the rate calculated for the last five years which, since memories of dead children would still be fresh, is probably quite accurate, is 2·83.

With a sample as small as the one used in this survey a certain amount of variability is to be expected. Also since all ages are merely estimations based on the memory of informants, one can only expect approximations over fairly long periods of time. For this reason it is probably safer to use the five-year average 1942-6 as an indicator of the present gross reproduction-rate, or even the ten-year average 1937-46. In this case, we may estimate the present gross reproduction-rate at about 2·8 or 2·9.

4. The Net Reproduction-rate

Of course, no mortality statistics for the African population are available. Hence it is necessary to construct a make-shift survival table in order to arrive at some estimate of the net reproduction-rate. This is set out in Table XI. In this table I have assumed that the mean age of each five-year group is 3 years older than the lowest age in that group, i.e. the mean age of the 35-9 age-group is 38. It would have been more consistent to take this mean to be 37·5, but since the ages at death are not accurately known there seemed little point in doing this.

The problem then becomes: what proportion of girls born to mothers of average age 28 years (for example), i.e. to the 25-9-year age-group, will themselves survive to be 28 years of age?

In order to arrive at this proportion all the girls born between 1934 and 1943 who were recorded on family census forms were abstracted, i.e. 131. Of these 16 died before reaching the age of 4, so that we can assume that 89 per cent. survived to the age of 4 and over. For the mortality of the children between 4 and 8, those born between 1929 and 1938 were considered. There were 111 of these, but 14 died before reaching the age of 4. Hence we consider only 98 (as recorded in column iii

6: Mitchell K-S (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

This is partly confirmed by the fact that the increase in total population for parts of the Liwonde district, with which this survey was concerned, according to the official census, is about 2·63 per cent. per annum.[1] At this rate we could expect the population to double itself in about 26 years. A net reproduction-rate of 1 would mean that the population would double itself in one generation which we may take in this case to be about 25 years. Some of the increase shown in the census is no doubt due to immigration from Portuguese East Africa, but the high replacement rate suggested by this material tends to confirm the opinion of one Administrative official, who maintained that immigration has virtually ceased since 1931.

5. General Summary and Conclusion

From material collected in three groups of hamlets in Liwonde district of Southern Nyasaland it appears that the average gross reproduction-rate within the sample over the last ten years was about 2·3 while the net reproduction-rate was about 2·2.

There is no reason to suppose that the fertility of this sample is vastly different from that in any other part of the district, since the hamlets visited were casually selected; nevertheless, the sample is not a random one (in the statistical sense) and it is unsafe to generalize from it.

The Nyasaland Administration has only recently introduced machinery for the registration of births and deaths.[2] Until, therefore, these statistics are collected there seems to be no alternative but to rely on estimates as uncertain as those made in this paper.

[1] The population of Kasinga, Liwonde, and Nyambi sections of what was formerly known as Liwonde district or Upper Shire District of Nyasaland, increased from 58,174 in 1926 to 64,840 in 1931. Extracted from the results census returns in the D.C.'s office in Zomba.

[2] Actually the forms for this registration do not calculate all the categories of information necessary for the calculation of the gross and net reproduction rates. Such calculations are mainly of the ages of the mothers and ages at death, and they have been excluded, no doubt, because it is assumed that this information is unobtainable. It is to be hoped, however, that when the system has become established, these categories will be introduced.

Résumé

MALÉDICTIONS DES NUER (see p. 288)

L'auteur cite de nombreux exemples des malédictions employées parmi les Nuer et indique l'importance accompagnative s'y attachant, suivant le degré de parenté entre la personne qui prononce la malédiction et celle à laquelle elle est destinée. La malédiction des morts est plus redoutée que celle des vivants, et l'on s'attend à ce qu'un homme qui emporte au tombeau le sentiment d'avoir subi une injustice fasse à son ressenti du mal affligeant plusieurs générations. Des malédictions prononcées s'abstiennent que rarement le bétail puisque faire du mal au bétail nuit à toute la lignée et peu seulement à l'individu. Pour être efficaces, les malédictions n'ont pas besoin d'être exprimées en paroles — une imprécation silencieuse, ou même un sentiment de dépit, peuvent avoir la même force qu'une malédiction prononcée.

7: Hetherwick M-S (ca. 1900) 1902 FT? Yao FT?

Unkulunkulu, which may therefore be rendered as "The old, old One," or "The great, great One." A like rendering may be given of the Yao form *mulungu*, the "Old One," or the "Great One." In this or a modified form *mwanga* (Swahili) it appears in all the Eastern group of the Bantu tongues as the equivalent for "God" (see Father Torrend's *Comparative Grammar of South African Bantu Languages*). To trace it as Father Torrend does to any connection with Moloch, the god of the Phœnicians, is to attach undue weight to a chance coincidence of sounds.

As we have already seen, the word *mulungu* is applied to the human limbs when regarded as an object of worship, or as an inhabitant of the spirit world. But it is also used to denote that spirit world in general, or more properly speaking, the aggregate of the spirits of all the dead. The plural form of the word is rarely heard, unless when the allusion is made to the souls in their individualities. In its native use and form the word does not imply personality, for it does not belong to the personal class of nouns. Etymologically it is classed with the leg, heart, arm, hand, ear, &c., of the human frame. Its form denotes rather a state or property inhering in something, as the life or health inheres in the body. Among the various tribes where the word is in use as we have described, the missionaries have adopted it as the term for "God." But the untaught Yao refuses to assign to it any idea of being or personality. It is to him more a quality or faculty of the human nature whose signification he has extended so as to embrace the whole spirit world. Once after I had endeavoured to impress an old Yao headman with the personality of the Godhead in the Christian sense of the term, using the term *Mulungu*, my listener began to talk of "Che Mulungu," "Mr. God," showing that originally to him the word conveyed no idea of the personality I was ascribing to it.

And yet the Yao approaches closely to the idea of personality and a personal being, when he speaks of what *mulungu* has done and is doing. It is *mulungu* who made the world, and man, and animals. Far in the interior of the continent, toward the north-west, beyond the plains and swamps of the Lengwe River and Lake Bangwulu, there lies, in Yao legend, an island in the midst of a lake called Kapirimiya. On that island there is to be seen a large flat rock marked by the footprints of man and animals of all kinds. When that rock was once a heap of moist clay, *mulungu* created all living things and sent them across the soft mass, where their footprints remained to be afterwards hardened into the imperishable rock. Such is the Yao legend of the creation of the world, and *mulungu* is always the Great Creator.

Mulungu is also regarded as the agent in anything mysterious. "It's *mulungu*," is the Yao exclamation on being shown anything that is beyond the range of his understanding. The rainbow is always "*mulungu*," although some Yaos have begun to use the Mang'anja term "*uta wa Lesa*," bow of Lesa.

Offerings are made to the spirit world or to *mulungu* as the great agency in the affairs of human life. Outside the village, or beside the headman's hut, may often be seen a rough shed. In this are placed the first-fruits of the new crop,

Lawson T-5 (ca. 1940) 1949 FT? Tso FT?
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* It is interesting here to compare the Nyanja and Tso with certain patrilineal peoples, found, finding similar behaviour patterns in the mother's brother and father's sister among the patrilineal Bathonga of Portuguese East Africa as among matrilineal people, traces them to a hypothetical early matrilineal stage of social organization. Radcliffe-Brown, however, in his article on the Mother's Brother in S. Africa, suggests a different origin. At least two other non-Bantu patrilineal tribes—the Polynesian Tonga and the Nuba Hillmen—are like the Bathonga in these behaviour patterns. May the behaviour not spring simply from a tendency to extend to one's mother's and father's groups behaviour suitable to mother and father respectively.

This explanation would not, as of course Radcliffe-Brown realizes, apply to a matrilineal people like the Tonga, where one keeps at a respectful distance from one's father's clans, but is more under the authority of one's mother's brother than of one's father.

10: Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920)1922 FT7 Yao FT7

A Note on Ceremonial Purification among the WaYao, Nyasaland. 55

By Meredith Sanderson, M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.

One of the effects of European influence in Africa is the breaking up of tribal organization and discipline. The rights of the individual being no longer subordinated to the common good, customs formerly observed by the village community as a whole die out, while those affecting the individual are still practised.

This tendency is well seen in the ancient ceremonies of purification among the WaYao which are now rarely performed collectively, though the native, however highly "educated," still goes to the doctor to obtain the necessary medicines for removing, for instance, the contamination caused by contact with a corpse.

These collective ceremonies have already been described by various writers in respect of both Nyasaland and elsewhere,‡ but the Yao rites have not, I think, been given in detail, and the following notes may not, therefore, be altogether valueless.

The *Pyajila* ceremony (*kuppajila*, "to sweep") is common to most Bantu tribes. In its simplest form it used to be performed annually by the WaYao, at the beginning of the twelfth month, count of the months (lunar) being kept by means of a "calendar."§ The whole village is thoroughly "spring-cleaned," all rubbish

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* At Siu, where the game is played on All Souls' night in the sacristy, Father Barnabas Myer tells me, the song is Spanish runs:—

Yano, yano, quando te vengo,
Yano, yano, hay music.

Yano, yano when you come.
Yano, yano, I shall not be there any more.

Words unquoted, presumably, to the hidden ball.

† *See* Swanson, M. C., "The Zulu Indians," pp. 333-341, XXIII. *Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, 1904.

‡ Fraser, "Golden Bough Simplified," II., 179, *sqq.*

§ A "calendar" consists of a string tied to two pegs in the wall of the house, or between two poles, on which are threaded twelve pieces of reed, bamboo or cornstalk. One of these is moved to the other end of the string each time a new moon is seen.